

APRIL 1923

Labor Age



FACTS :—

Labor' + the Expert = Profit Makers' Defeat

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.

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STOP! LOOK! LISTEN!

"EUREKA!" we exclaim.
Which meaneth: "We have found it, have gotten there, have arrived."

Ever since our first number, we have been trying to get each issue of LABOR AGE out before the first of the month of issue. Until this month, we had not succeeded in this effort. As per the announcement in the February issue, we did it in this way:

Instead of calling this issue the March number, we have called it April. This means skipping a number—but the subscriptions of all our subscribers will be moved

up a month, so that each will get his or her full twelve issues. This means that subscribers whose wrapper address reads "Oct. 23" will receive the magazine through November, 1923.

LABOR AGE wants the story of what Labor is doing through the country to route the Profit Makers to reach as large an audience as possible. We would like your help in getting us subscribers, or in suggesting the names of those who might be interested. **The attacks which the enemies of Labor are making on us show that we are making a dent.** Will its friends support us as vigorously? Let us have your reply!

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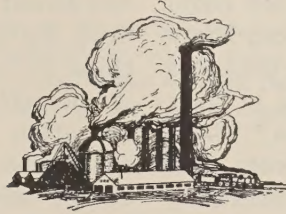
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Labor Age



Facts Beat the Enemy!

Value of the Expert in the Industrial Fight

By WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON

WHERE
RESEARCH
HELPED
TO WIN



Last Year's
Big
Textile Strike
(Which Sur-
prised the
Bosses)

P. and A. Photos

OF what use is accurate, detailed knowledge to a trade union? Many think of a union as a fighting organization. They see the necessity for organization — since that leads to economic power. They see the benefit of collective bargaining, to keep the workers from being down-trodden. They see that a union may helpfully conduct insurance benefits or other projects for mutual aid. These are all definite undertakings which bring visible results. But what good are volumes of statistics?

In the same way it might be said that a business firm or a bank is out for hard cash, and that it gets that cash by buying, producing, selling, and lending. It does not squeeze profit out of statistics. All true. Yet very extensive research is carried on today by business and banking houses.

Presumably they do not pay for it out of pure philanthropy. As for fighting, no institution carries on more extensive research than the General Staff of an army.

When the Fight is On

The moment any labor organization becomes involved in a dispute with an employer the need for research becomes plain. This is particularly true if that dispute has reached the stage of negotiation or is being arbitrated. The employer advances certain arguments about wages, hours or conditions. The union advances other arguments. These arguments bring forward disputes about facts.

What wages are actually being paid? How do they compare with what was paid at some previous time or with what is being paid elsewhere,

LABOR AGE

or with what should be paid to give a decent living to the wage-earner's family? What has happened to the purchasing power of the dollar? What are the profits of the business, and how much could it afford to pay? What effect would reduced hours have on labor cost and profit? Do trade practices unnecessarily restrict production? What is their necessity from the point of view of health? These and hundreds of other questions arise from time to time. They are questions of fact, which may be decided by competent research. But everyone knows that in statistics and other complicated technical matters mistakes may be made and facts may be concealed. There are also legitimate differences of opinion as to how facts should be interpreted. As long as the research is paid for by the employer, the mistakes are likely to be in his favor and the facts will be presented in a light that will support his contentions. Labor must know the answer.

I would be the last one to contend that such controversies are always settled by sweet reasonableness instead of by the power of the party that happens to have the whip handle. Yet labor is at a great disadvantage if it has to fight for a cause whose justice it cannot establish clearly. Everyone remembers the enormous power of propaganda in the late war. Employers' propaganda is a very real force.

Whence the Employers' Power?

Upon what does the economic and legal power of employers rest? In number they are far fewer than wage-earners. If it came to a fight without weapons they would quickly be at the mercy of labor. At the ballot box they could be outvoted ten to one. Yet today we often see them entrenched in a position of power—of economic power backed by laws, courts, police and army—which seems impregnable. The reason these few men have been able to build up such an intricate structure of defenses is that they have been able to maintain a general **consent** to what they do. Enough people do not object to their practices strongly enough, and for a long enough time, to do anything about it. In the long run a strong popular objection to the practices of any ruling minority will end those practices. Hence, the importance of knowing how to defend one's cause publicly, as well as the importance of having a just cause. Research and publicity may not seem to help in a given instance, but their piled-up effect in numerous instances is enormous.

Even such a hard-headed militarist as General Foch maintains, in his book on "Principles of

Strategy," that the battle is really won in the **mind** of the enemy. The fundamental object of military operations is to make the enemy **think** and **admit** he is defeated. There is nothing of Dr. Coué about this. You cannot make the enemy think he is defeated by sitting down and thinking it yourself. Battalions and divisions and battles are often necessary. But the thinking part of the process, the establishing of your point of view on the basis of hard facts, is the center of the whole thing.

Mapping Out Campaigns

So far I have spoken of the uses of research in actual controversies with the employer, whether in the conference room or in the public arena. But it has other uses. It is necessary to have an accurate knowledge of facts in order to plan and carry out successful policies. Labor has made too little use of research in the past in laying out its campaigns. The right kind of research would be helpful in timing organization drives and in executing them. It is helpful in planning and supporting legislation. It is absolutely essential in negotiations with employers upon the working out of new methods of production or payment which require expert technical knowledge.

Industry is changing rapidly. Technical methods are changing. Forms of business organization are changing. New forces are constantly arising. The leaders of business are alive to this situation and employ their economists and statisticians, their engineers and accountants, not merely to find out what is going on, but to devise new methods whereby they may take advantage of the trend of events. Any element in this turbulent stream which goes to sleep ends in an eddy or backwater. Labor is no exception.

It is true that trade unions today have a hard fight on their hands and cannot undertake too much at once. Yet I look forward to the time when the unions will be far more than fighting organizations. There is being built a new type of civilization, and in that new civilization labor ought to play a very important part. Wherever unions are given an opportunity, they are already beginning to exercise their constructive faculties. But unions can never rise to their opportunity in this respect unless they are aggressive in employing experts and helping to build the new world through real knowledge of what it is best to do.

The Expert and Labor

There is an apprehension in some quarters that if the labor movement admits experts to its coun-

WHAT THE UNIONS ARE DOING ON FACT-FINDING

"MORE sound thinking is being done by the workers today than by employers" says a recent dispatch of the International Typographical Union. Union men are not only thinking, but they are thinking about facts. Labor research, which links the economist with the trade union, is providing a new basis of real information for Labor's demands, as President Johnston of the Machinists points out.

His own organization employs the Labor Bureau of New York to get its facts—on profits of the employers, wages, the cost of living, etc., etc. So do over 50 other internationals. The miners, rail unions and others have made use from time to time of the services of W. Jett Lauck of Washington for that purpose. These unions have found the labor expert of great aid in overthrowing the "facts" of the employers—and in winning the fight for better conditions.

Other organizations have established their own research departments, so that they can get facts at first hand. The Labor Bureau has been employed by the International Typographical Union and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks for the purpose of putting in such departments. In the middle of the monthly magazine of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen appears the heading: "Research Department—W. S. Carter, Manager." This "manager of research" is the former president of that big union.

The new awakening of the unions to the value of knowing their industries came about first among the clothing workers. During the suit for injunction and damages brought by Michaels-Stern Company of Rochester against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in 1920, Dr. Leo Wolman did a great deal of economic research on the aims and accomplishments of the union since its organization. In July, 1920, the General Executive Board established a permanent research department to provide "for continuous study of conditions in the industry and to make information available for use at any time."

This department under the direction of H. K. Herwitz, collects information of industrial and economic conditions, with particular reference to men's clothing and related industries, the cost of living, and wages and employment conditions. Briefs are prepared by the department for use in wage arbitration cases, and a file of the decisions made by the impartial chairmen in the clothing industry throughout the country is kept.

A history of the clothing workers in Chicago, 1910-1922, has just been got out by the research department under the direction of Dr. Wolman. This volume presents a striking summary of the chief events in the Chicago clothing industry during those years. The strike of 1910, the development of arbitration, the break from the garment workers, the great wage arbitrations—these steps leading up to the present strong position of the Amalgamated in Chicago are pictured in detail.

The research department of the I. L. G. W. U. under the direction of Abraham Tuvim, is a central clearing house of economic information for this branch of the needle trades. Extensive studies of wages above and below the scale are made for different seasons and districts. The cost of living in various clothing centers is investigated and economic material of all kinds submitted in wage adjustment cases. Reports resulting from these studies are printed in JUSTICE, the organ of the union, and are sent to the locals to keep them informed concerning conditions in the industry.

Labor's rights are thus being placed on a basis of scientific fact. Closet theories concerning wages and production have been displaced. The employers are being compelled to face Hard Reality. Their publicity departments can no longer get away with the propaganda with which they formerly fed the "public." And Labor is all the while learning more and more about how the industry in which it works is run. It's a good beginning!



Wm. H.
Johnston

cils they may tend to assume too important a rôle or to make exorbitant charges. Experience gives some ground for these fears in a few cases. But there are numerous experts who know how to cooperate with labor, who do not try to be leaders, but advisers, and who are content with a fair wage for their services. No such fear has kept big business from making full use of expert services. J. P. Morgan is not too big a man to admit that he needs the advice of technicians and to employ them. Neither are the railroad presidents. With

encouragement and guidance on the part of the unions, the number of experts who understand the labor movement and who know how to cooperate will increase.

It is impossible to predict in advance all the exact ways in which research may prove to be useful. It is the sort of thing which grows from opportunity to opportunity. Concrete problems lead to concrete results. Intelligence applied to situations as they arise may have far-reaching consequences.

Servants of the Labor Movement

In Which Evans Clark and Robert Bruere Tell of Two Bureaus

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

“GEORGE BERNARD SHAW says: ‘Those who can, do; those who can’t, teach.’ Perhaps that is why so many ‘intellectuals,’ attracted to the Labor Movement, try to become preachers and teachers to it. Certainly, in a big strike their staying power would about equal that of a snowflake in the Devil’s kitchen.”

Thus spoke a labor leader to me not so many days ago. I listened to him with respect, for his character had been chiselled out in clear, sharp lines on picket duty and in a thousand bitter fights with the employers.

“You know,” he added with a smile, “I disagree with the ‘Old Man’ (meaning Samuel Gompers) in many things; but in one thing I am unanimously with him. That is when he says, ‘God save the Labor Movement from its “damn fool friends.”’ A labor man has no use for preaching by someone securely seated on the side lines, who has never done a lick of manual work and who knows nothing of what the workers are really up against. What a labor leader does need is information—about the condition of trade, what labor’s enemies are up to, what living costs come to, how wages stand in comparison to other industries. There’s where the so-called ‘intellectual’ can be of big help.”

It was then that I told him about the Labor Bureau and what it is doing. The idea struck him as “the thing.” It was just “what he had been wishing to see for years.” Labor should “certainly support a venture of that kind.”

What I told him—and which aroused his enthusiasm—had been told to me by Evans Clark, director of the Labor Bureau. This, in brief, is Mr. Clark’s story, as near as I can remember it:

“The Labor Bureau was established to meet the need of the Labor Movement for expert assistance. Labor has as much need as have the employers to know about industry and how it is operating. It has certainly as much need to ‘get across’ to the public, arbitration boards and other like bodies the facts about industry as it sees them—particularly in any big movement for better conditions. Those who serve the other side are not the ones who can give this service, loyally and efficiently, to Labor. It must have on its side experts—who can go thoroughly and accurately into any given situation, and expose the facts to the light of day and who are tied up beyond recall to Labor’s cause.

“The rapid growth of the Bureau shows that it is filling a real need. On May 1st it will be only three years old. In that time it has developed from a small institution serving fourteen labor organizations in New York City to a nation-wide service with offices in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco. We also have a special representative in Washington.”

That is fine progress, you will agree. But Mr. Clark went on to say that a study of the work done would show even bigger steps forward.

“It will be tiring to go into all the services which we have performed. There are some things, however, well worth while noting. We had 212 clients last year, including 52 international unions. The work handled for the unions was twice as large as in the year before, and eight times the amount of our services in the eight months of 1920—when we began operations. Best of all, we have been able to handle delicate and difficult jobs for labor organizations with satisfaction to them and with successful results.

“Experience in these cases has shown the definite cash value of the expert to the unions. The employers and their associations have not been able to bring in their row upon row of ‘facts’—to have them stand before an arbitrator or the public without an effective challenge from the labor side. In 1921, for example, the members of Typographical Union No. 6, of New York—‘Big Six,’ as it is called—were threatened with a reduction of \$9.00 a week. Arbitration proceedings resulted. The union is one of the strongest in the United States, but in this crisis it felt the need for expert help in preparing its case. With the active cooperation of its officers, the Labor Bureau got together the facts and assisted in presenting them to the arbitrator, a well-known social service executive. He decided that the members of ‘Big Six’ should retain their war-time wages. The total saving to the union’s membership for the year 1922 was \$2,808,000.

“But that is not all. A few months ago, the employers again demanded a reduction of \$5.00 a week on this war-time scale. A new arbitrator sat this time—a New York City judge. Again the Labor Bureau and the union officials cooperated, and again the result was in favor of the men. This victory went further than ‘Big Six.’ It led the printing employers to bow to the demands of the pressmen, two of whose unions (without ex-

pert assistance) had had a verdict against them the year before. This year they also secured the Bureau's help—and the employers agreed that after the 'Big Six' arbitration, there was nothing for them to do but surrender in the pressmen's case. The facts were too heavily on the men's side. That meant another big gain in wages saved for all the New York printing workers."

That is only a small part of Mr. Clarks' story. Victory after victory has come to the workers as a result of the use of this force of experts. They have also gone into larger fields for Labor's benefit, George Soule's address before the American Economic Association putting a big crimp into the idea that increased production always means better returns for Labor.

"Inside the unions and outside," said Mr. Bruère, "are men who raise the long-term problems that labor faces: 'Where is the movement headed? What are the daily facts of industry that make or unmake the movement's policies?' These questions suggest the work of the Bureau; the union men and the public-spirited who are at work on these questions are the men we aim to cooperate with. They are scattered, give no organized financial support but represent necessary increments of that 'viewpoint of the good of the commonwealth' which a broadening labor movement more and more definitely approaches.

"The idea of our Bureau originated seven years ago," Mr. Bruère continued, "when I was a member of the Board of Arbitration in the Dress and Waist Industry. At that time the Board employed Robert G. Valentine who as an industrial counselor had been working out a technique for what he called the 'industrial audit.' He was primarily concerned with all the fact elements underlying the participation of labor in the government of the industry and the control of their conditions of employment. He believed that the development of right conditions and more particularly of industrial democracy within industry depended upon an informed public opinion.

"The problem was not only how to enlighten public opinion but to bring this opinion to bear upon the conditions in industry. An industrial counselor he had discovered that his professional relationship to his clients made it impossible for him to make public use of facts after he found them. He therefore proposed that a Bureau should be established which should be free not only to find the facts of industry but to give them the freest and fullest publicity. It was for this

reason that our Bureau was originally called the Bureau of Industrial Research and Publicity.

"In furtherance of Valentine's special interest in personnel problems the Bureau during the first years of its existence conducted courses in personnel administration to which such diverse groups as the Commission of Petrograd's Regional Committee of the Zemstvo Union, Petrograd, Russia, the American Car and Foundry Company, The United States Department of Labor, the Jewish Welfare Board and the General Electric Company sent students. The men who conducted these courses are continuing them today in Columbia University and the New York School of Social Work.

"Combined with these training courses the Bureau made industrial audits of more than eighty plants in which it laid the foundations for modern personnel departments, many of which unfortunately have not been built upon. At the same time, in furtherance of its investigations into industry from the public point of view and its program of publicity, it undertook the technical research work connected with the Interchurch Commission's study of the steel strike of 1919. During the past two years its energies have been especially devoted to an analysis of the problems of the coal industry. I think it is fair to say that the work which it has been able to do in cooperation with such publications as the **Survey** and more particularly in cooperation with the miners' union contributed materially toward the establishment of the United States Coal Commission.

"The Bureau's work in the coal fields was done for the most part independently. It had to rely for access to the underlying human facts of the coal industry upon the cooperation of the men and women who live in it. This cooperation has been given by the miners, especially, with whom the Bureau is therefore actively cooperating in the development of a fact-finding approach to their larger problems.

"The 'viewpoint of the good of the commonwealth' becomes effective mainly when it is formulated by labor. The Bureau tries to find some of the facts necessary for such statements by labor."

Mr. Bruère ended his recital—which covered many other things than are set down here—with the statement that the Bureau library was open always for the use of other folks, particularly labor organizations. Thus, in one afternoon, was given me the story of two bureaus, helpful each in its way to Organized Labor.

An Anti-Labor Sample

The "Johnny-on-the Spot" N. I. C. B. and Its Fine Line of "Facts"

By JOSEPH KUNZ

HAVE you ever read in the papers of the "National Industrial Conference Board"?

Whenever a big strike looms up, it is always "Johnny on the spot" to inform you of the "facts" and figures of the case. Whenever there is a question of reducing wages or lengthening hours, it issues a statement on "the condition of the industry" and on why the wages and hours should be "readjusted."

If you do not know anything about this Board, you will probably think it an impartial body—gathering information for the benefit of the "general public." You are quite ready to accept it as such when you hear that it is "a cooperative body composed of representatives of national and state industrial associations"—I quote from the Board's own statement published in every report—"and is organized to provide a clearing house of information, a forum for constructive discussion, and machinery for cooperative action on matters that vitally affect the industrial development of the nation."

The evidence of this "public-spirited body" has been used in one of the two great strikes of the past year. The National Industrial Conference Board testified at the hearings of the Railroad Labor Board in Chicago last spring (at the request of the railroads!), and thus had a hand in reducing the standard of living of hundreds of thousands of American workers. The news releases of this same Board, published in the New York Times from time to time, always show that the cost of living is falling, that wages are unreasonably high, that capital can scarcely keep its head out of water. Such facts are swallowed whole by the casual reader, who does not inquire closely into the power behind the respectable throne of the National Industrial Conference Board.

Look At Its Backers!

If he did, he would find that the "national and state industrial associations" composing the Board are simply manufacturers' associations. They cannot be impartial in industrial disputes and industrial problems. Their big job is to destroy labor unions. They include the National Founders' Association and the National Metal Trades Association, who publish jointly the

Open Shop Review in Chicago. They include the National Industrial Council, which publishes the **National Industrial Review**, an organ of tenth-rate Americanism and red-flag alarmism, at which any real patriot would blush. They include the National Association of Manufacturers, the ringleader of the Open Shop army.

The National Founders' Association has built up a far-reaching system of strike-breaking. It consists of a service for the supply of scabs in strikes, and a corps of "intelligence men," who are union members in good standing, and report every move of the union to the employer. It fights tooth and nail against labor legislation. It fought anti-injunction bills, anti-immigration bills, the Seaman's Act, and the Adamson law, dubbing the latter "probably the most vicious and costly legislation ever passed by any law-making body." It contends that "it is not a question of laws that we want, not a question of more legislation; what we need is obedience to our present laws." When it comes to "more legislation" for the Profit Makers, however, it plays another tune. For, it tried to push a measure to make picketing illegal, another establishing a state constabulary, and a wartime conscription law for the workers!

The National Metal Trades Association states in its constitution: "We will not permit employees to place any restriction on the management, methods or production of our shops, and we will require a fair day's work for a fair day's pay." It claims in its **Bulletin** that "No strikes of any moment have been won by the machinists' union since the organization of the National Metal Trades Association."

Members of this association who compromised with the union were expelled from the Association. By this action they lost the privileges which its members enjoy in the battle against labor, such as advice in handling strikes and union demands, and the money and men necessary to break strikes. The organization has an "employment bureau" which furnishes strike-breakers wholesale or retail. It has also its spy system, and is active in the anti-labor legislation field.

Another member of this "open-minded and

disinterested" National Industrial Conference Board is the National Erectors Association—notorious, of course, for the McNamara case. Its object is the "institution and maintenance of the Open Shop principle in the employment of labor in the erection of steel and iron bridges and buildings and other structural steel and iron work." In addition to the usual strike-breaking and union-spying activities, it has employed detectives to extract confessions of dynamiting and lesser crimes from workers or radicals. It fought the ruling of the War Labor Board, guaranteeing the "right of workers to organize." It helped the Iron League of New York to defeat the efforts of the Building Trades Council and Building Trades Employers' Association of New York to unionize completely the erection of structural iron work in New York.

The National Manufacturers Association

The cases could be multiplied until practically the whole list of National Industrial Conference Board members was exhausted. We will point now to only one more example—the National Association of Manufacturers. Its work lies chiefly in the research and propaganda fields. It was responsible for the big open shop campaign. It keeps tabs on Congress, and informs manufacturers in various industries whenever their particular interests are "affected". It forms committees to bring "light" to members of Congress on such matters when they are in need of it. It watches the records of representatives and senators, and urges its own members in the different congressional districts to support for reelection the men who have fought labor legislation.

It opposed the eight-hour-day laws and all legislation to lessen the power of the courts to issue injunctions. It fought the amendments to the Sherman Act which exempted labor unions. It was against the Seamen's Act. It even protested against the flabby labor provisions of the Versailles Peace Treaty. It opposed the National Child Labor Law. It carries on this work in part through the National Industrial Council, which it organized, and which is also a member of the Industrial Conference Board.

It is of course not surprising that employers finance such activities. I cite them merely to point out what interests support the National Industrial Conference Board. They show how absurd is its claim to be "impartial."

Its own activities at the First Industrial Con-

ference at Washington in 1919 also knock that claim in the head. The Board appointed 5 of the 17 members of the employers' group, and its Managing Director, Magnus W. Alexander, was secretary of the group. It was active in the fight against the collective bargaining resolution, and its chairman, Frederick P. Fish, was one of the leaders in the fight. It will be remembered that it was due to the stand of the employer's group against this resolution that the conference went to pieces.

"Research" Against Labor

So much for the individual work of the members of the National Industrial Conference Board. Now, as to the researches of that body. During the coal strike of 1922, the National Industrial Conference brought out a report showing that the wages of anthracite miners were unreasonably high, in comparison with the cost of living and in comparison with those of workers in other industries. At the same time it brought out a report on the cost of living in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, showing that a man and wife and child can live there on \$900 a year (and for still less if they live in company houses!)

During the hearings of the Railroad Labor Board in Chicago in the winter and spring of 1922, the National Industrial Conference Board made a "study" of railroad wages and working rules. Again were the "greedy" workers all wrong! They were getting too much money, the "study" proclaimed. The seniority and apprenticeship rules, on which the unions took a firm stand, were also marked "N. G." It pointed out that high wages for railroad labor reduce the credit of the railroads, increased rates, raise prices and the cost of living all over the country. (Somehow it failed to get the information from the Bureau of Railway Economics that Labor received a smaller proportion of the gross receipts of the railroads in 1921 than in any other year since 1917!)

It is hardly to be wondered at that the National Industrial Conference Board **was subpoenaed to testify at these hearings, not by the Railroad Labor Board, but by the railroads themselves.**

During and after the war the fight between capital and labor centered upon the question of hours of work. Employers tried to lengthen the working week. "Patriotic speeding up of production," was the cry. Valuable studies of the relation of hours of work to fatigue, health and

"UNDER-
GROUND"
—Under
"Good"
Conditions



Keystone Photos

The N. I. C. B.
thinks
\$900 a year
enough
for this
work

output, had been made in Great Britain, where the problem was much worse than in America. The British experts found that "speeding up" not only hurt health, but that in the long run it did not even speed up.

Showing How Good Long Hours Are!

The National Industrial Conference Board had to get busy, of course, to show that the British were all wrong. It made an "analysis" of the British war time reports, warning the public against taking these findings too much to heart. It also began to issue its own report on the effect of work hours on health and output. They dismissed the health question—because, it was claimed, it is impossible to find out the effect of long hours on the workers' health. But the reports briskly go to work to show that a cut in the working week causes a fall in output!

How do they show this? Merely by quoting from answers received from manufacturers about the effect of cutting hours in their own plants. No scientific studies were made in the factories—as was done by the British in their report on the health of munition workers, by Josephine Goldmark for her "Fatigue and Efficiency," and by the United States Government in its report on the same subject. All of these careful studies show that longer hours injure health and reduce the efficiency and output of the workers.

Making "Public Opinion"

So could we go from report to report of the Conference Board—showing the errors made in

order to furnish ammunition for the employers.

The National Industrial Conference Board reaches the average American less in its published reports than in its newspaper releases. These are as a rule news stories about the reports. They touch only on the high spots—just enough to give the reader the idea that the cost of living is falling, or that living in the anthracite region is so cheap that the miner there is the luckiest devil in the world, or that nothing but lower wages can cure unemployment.

The Sunday morning reader of the **New York Times**—on his way to the pictorial section or the sport section—let his eyes rest on National Industrial Conference Board releases such as:

"Employers Endeavor to Postpone Lay-offs," July 16, 1921; "Reds in Control of Clothing Unions," July 24, 1921; "Find Miners Pay Has Risen More Than Most—Declares Colliery Men Have Fared Better Than Many Other Employees," March 19, 1922; "Best Wages Paid to Railroad Labor," March 26, 1922.

It is of such things that "public opinion" is made. No "research" organization will throw such crumbs to a lazy-minded "public" unless it wishes to mold the ideas of those who cannot think for themselves. That is just what the Industrial Conference Board wishes to do. Its membership is interested in fighting Labor by fair means or foul. It is one more effort of the employers to fool the unthinking, and line them up in the employers' interest.

Labor + The Technician— The Stockholder

“What the Devil Is It All About?”—We Beg to Answer

By STUART CHASE

AFTER all, what is all the shooting for? Why is an industrial system, and why are labor unions, and why are technicians; why is money, and why are banks, and why are coal and railroads? Our forefathers in the good old Dynosaur days were blessed with none of these things and they managed to get along. And there are some millions of citizens of various colors who are alive today and get along with none of them.

When we come down to brass tacks, the only purpose in industry is to produce for people the things which people need to keep going, and to keep happy, and to get some good out of the few years that are granted them on this planet. In the last analysis, the only purpose in work is human service, and some decent division of the total service turned out. Industry viewed from any other angle is simply a glorified madhouse.

A Madhouse

It is in precisely such a glorified madhouse that we live today. In spite of inventions and machinery and labor-saving devices, and all manner of clever contraptions and clever schemes to make ten blades of grass grow where one grew before, and a thousand rivets shoot forth where one dropped before, most of us work about as hard, and live about as poorly, and get as little out of life—perhaps less out of life—than did the peasants and the yeomen out of whom we sprang a thousand years ago. At the same time, it is perfectly clear that if industry were run to furnish human service, then the more inventions and the more labor-saving devices, the more service. And, considering the volume of invention in the last 100 years, we all ought to be living in wholesome comfort today without a pauper or a bum from coast to coast.

Instead of that, six millions of us tramped the streets last year, looking for a job that wasn't there. And over a half of us live below the minimum budget of health and decency as laid down by the United States Department of Labor. And the Railroad Labor Board says that if we were paid this budget, we would bankrupt the railroads. Meanwhile—and this is the craziest thing of all—nobody, except a few queer individuals

like the editor of **Labor Age**, has the faintest notion that industry is run to provide service for human beings.

Industry, as any safe-and-sane citizen will tell you, is run to make profits for a few people who have some pieces of paper, with steel engraving on them, tucked away in an iron box. And the conclusive test of this statement, the safe-and-saner goes on to say, is found in the fact that no portion of industry, however useful or serviceable or necessary it may be, can possibly continue to operate unless it makes a profit. Otherwise it is declared bankrupt and promptly closed down. Go-getters, rotarians and advertising men talk about “service” sometimes, but it is largely bunk. What they are really after is a prospect to whom they can make a profitable sale.

How We Got This Way

How did it come about that we all got off on the wrong foot, and turned the sane conception of industry upside down, and tried to look into our ears with our eyes?

There was a young man who said, “Why
Can't I look in my ear with my eye?

I'm sure I could do it

If I put my mind to it,

You never can tell 'till you try!”

. . . Well, we have been trying awfully hard for the last hundred years.

This is the way a very able economist, Mr. R. H. Tawney, explains it.

Along about the time when the first steam pump was put into the British coal mines—say 1750—people began to get very weary with the way the Kings and the Churches were running society. Kings and prelates had fallen into the bad habit of regarding themselves as the divinely appointed guardians of everything in sight. They laid down rules and regulations covering every kind of personal conduct, until it got so that you couldn't blow your nose without getting into trouble. An old philosopher named John Locke became particularly weary, and he started a good healthy revolt through the medium of his books.

He and his followers (among whom were the writers that kindled the French Revolution, said

that the spirit of man was not to be tied down and walked upon by kings and nobles and potentates, **but that each man should be free to do as he liked with his own.** And so came to birth—along with a genuine advance in democracy—the doctrine of the Right of Property. People eagerly seized on this doctrine—particularly the landowners and the merchants and the new class of manufacturers who were just beginning to introduce machinery into their shops. It was held that unlimited freedom of contract, and an unlimited right to own and to dispose of property, would provide an incentive to production and invention and development which would be the best possible thing for an increased standard of living all around. If only property were secure against the arbitrary meddling of Church and State, the whole world would become wealthier and happier.

The idea spread like wild-fire all over Europe. It crossed the seas to America, helped bring on the Revolutionary War, and was written into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. And it **worked** for a while. It did increase the standard of living a little. It did bring more freedom. It was a thoroughly good thing to junk the autocratic power of the kings and the prelates. It worked so well—particularly for the new class of business men—that it grew into a sort of religion itself. The religion of “individualism”. Attention was directed exclusively to the sacred Rights of Property. And before long, people began to forget entirely that the doctrine of the Right of Property, as Locke and Adam Smith and Bentham and John Stuart Mill had laid it down, was simply a means to an end—the **end** being a more tolerable social life for the mass of mankind. They forgot the end and concentrated on the means. Which would have been satisfactory if the end had automatically come about as prophesied.

But that is just what did not happen. The end did not automatically come about. We broke the tyranny of Church and State, only to fasten the new tyranny of Property about our necks. As the emphasis on the absolute right of private property grew, the initial well-being of the people began to fade. The original idea of property as a means to better service and better production was lost, and Property, triumphant and almighty, sat on the throne of thrones.

And so it sits today. And as long as it sits there, holding the view that the sole aim of industry is to make profits for itself, the industrial system will continue to be a lunatic asylum.

Property Can Do No Wrong!

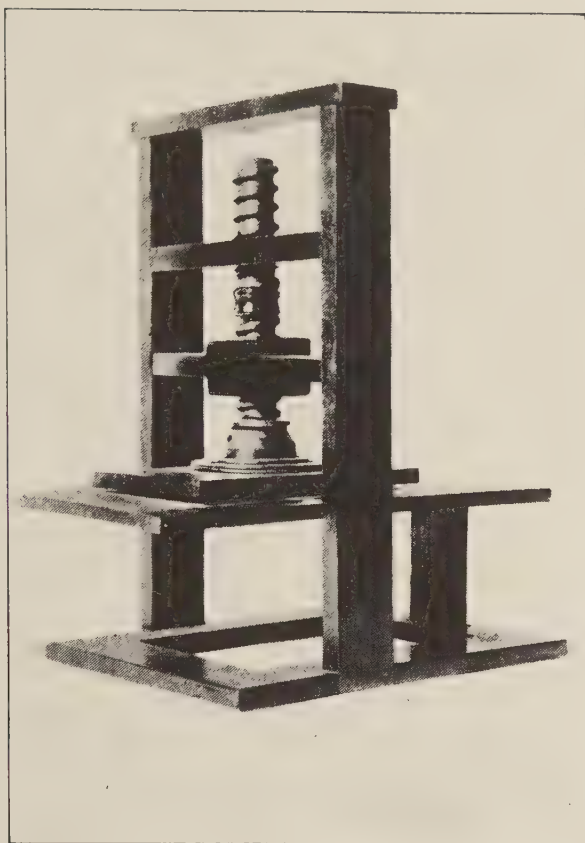
For what happened was this. If Property was God, and could do no wrong—and that is about the view the courts take of it—the main thing in life was not to render service, or to produce necessities, or even to work at all if it could be avoided, but simply and only to get hold of property. **As a man was esteemed for his property and not for his service, the idea certainly was to skimp the service and grab the property.** And so grew up a class of property owners who performed no useful function at all, who simply squandered and luxuriated and ordered butlers around, and whom we worshipped as the backbone of the industrial system.

Didn't they “find the money,” and make us loans, and give us credit? And where would we be without their savings between us and starvation? Of course if we had used our brains instead of our emotions, we would have seen that we could only be infinitely better off if they and their engraved certificates had been at the bottom of the sea. We produced everything and they produced nothing. And yet they waded into our production with both hands.

So instead of the old property owner of the 1750's, who, as operating manager, was to produce more for us with his new-found freedom, the great bulk of fixed properties today—the fields and the forests and the mines and the wells and the mills and the factories are **owned by absentee landlords and absentee shareholders who don't know a pick from a cement-mixer, or a drill from a section of garden hose.** And why should they? They are the priests of Property before whom we must all fall down on our knees and pray.

And that is the story of how a good idea ran wild, and turned at last into probably the most evil and tyrannical idea that ever ground down the poor, old, superstitious human race. That is how the common-sense notion of industry—run to provide human service—turned into the mad-house notion of industry—run only to provide profits.

Property sits on its mighty throne and if anyone dares to question it—the courts and the cops, the machine guns and the poison gas, the jails and the rails are ready. Ready on the highest moral grounds, including the Constitution, The Sacred Rights Which We Fought And Bled For, Democracy, Freedom, and the Grand Old Flag. One hundred and fifty years ago there was much to be said for those “sacred rights”. Today they



Keystone Photos

"HOW TIMES DO CHANGE"

Here we have a model of the first printing press made by Guttenberg. How different that first press was from the presses of today!

The men who use our modern presses have also made progress in their methods of fighting for better conditions. They have learned the value of the expert.

Is it not a logical next step that Labor and the expert should join hands to control industry?

are used as a smoke-screen to cover an intolerable wrong.

And the extent of that wrong may be judged in part by the lack of human efficiency in modern industry. It was claimed in the old days that unlimited Property, and Efficiency, were twin brothers. However well this looks on paper, and however well it may have worked in those early years, the naked fact remains that the great trouble with the present system is precisely that it does **not** generate efficiency. The defenders of unlimited property rights are in despair because the workers won't work; because the old spirit of craftsmanship has gone; because trade unions counsel a policy of "canny". They cry to heaven because labor is "selfish" and has "no interest in its work". They lie awake nights thinking out schemes for bonuses and compulsory arbitration. They call in psychologists and professors and personnel reformers by the score.

And all the time the blazing fact stares them in the face that what they are trying to do is a psychological impossibility; that **inefficiency will and must continue so long as the doctrine of the unlimited Right of Property is maintained.** When a worker once realizes—as millions of workers have realized today—that for every additional blow struck with a pick or a hammer, an idle shareholder simply gains more engraved certificates, what is the use of hard work or good service? Very different it might be—very different indeed—if the worker knew that for every additional blow, he was creating more goods and more service for himself and for his family and for his fellows.

Enter the Technician

Property sits on its mighty throne and is not to be easily tumbled down. But certainly the religion of Property must be tumbled down if industry is ever to get right side up again. Here is where the technician enters. **A technician may be defined as a brain worker who has been especially educated to deal with materials, records and men—an engineer, an operating manager, a teacher, a doctor, an accountant.** The worker works, the technician works. The stockholder does nothing, or does his best to block production with financial manipulation, and "business-like sabotage", as Veblen calls it. **Labor and the technician together make all the food and clothes and houses and education and recreation that is made.** They make all the luxuries which the owners consume.

Furthermore, modern industry has become so complicated—due to all the inventions which the technicians have been turning out—that labor cannot run it alone. Labor must have the help of the engineer and the architect and the man of science. The bankers and the brokers and the insurance agents and the boards of directors can all park their limousines at the South Pole, and good riddance. But the engineers have got to stay around.

Labor + The Technician = Service

So if we are ever to have a society based squarely on the conception of industry as public service, it is labor and the technician who must run it—for they are the people who produce the goods. Each is helpless without the other. Together they know all there is to be known about industry and service.

Workers as Researchers

By HEBER BLANKENHORN

WAS this an early example of "labor research and publicity"?

Thirty years ago, "before the union," as my old miner friend put it, strike talk broke out in the mine in the Shamokin region where he was working as a spragger boy. Sitting in a half-filled mine car he was, when a man heaved over the side and plumped in on his knees—the hard-faced old mine owner, like an apparition: "What the . . . are you . . . up to?"

The desperate boy dashed the cover from his dinner bucket. "Why shouldn't we strike? This is all you give me to eat; is it enough to live on?" His black fists thrust a hunk of bread and a piece of smelly pork under the owner's nose. "Can you eat that?" The owner said nothing and went on into the mine.

From the two on their knees over a dinner bucket in a coal car it is a far cry to Federal Commissions with union officers and batteries of solemn research experts presenting printed tabulations of cost-of-living indexes. Justice is supposed to decide for the heavy artillery; but the mine boy won. "I couldn't answer your dinner bucket," the owner explained when he finally granted those men a raise and reformed his company store.

That same day long ago the trembling mine boy later spied his fellows hustling by. "Are you striking?" he called, eagerly. The miners stopped and laughed and laughed. "No, we been fired"; and they scuttled on out.

"Why do you think they laughed?" I asked.

The old miner wrinkled his brow and said the men then were dumbheads; but nowadays men knew their rights.

Apparently in that cave-man era they did not collect and study such data on "labor's inferiority complex" as up-to-date researchers delight in.

Two Jobs To Be Done

OUR historic episode may be taken as furnishing hints of two main lines of labor research: on the one hand, research which thrusts combative facts against the eyes and nose of a dominant outside world; on the other, introspective research which studies how the labor movement moves, why, and toward what goals. A major problem of method, I suspect, remains all along: namely, how to help the workers themselves to take part in the research.

"Helping the workers to take part" sounds altruistic from a researcher: it seems the noblest pose of all—sharing your bread of "expertness" with the needy. May I insist that the aim is selfish; the aim is the facts, getting those facts which can only be got with the help of the worker or the workers' leader. The shoe is on the other foot; there is a kind of research where the researcher is likely to seem more of a nuisance to labor than a help. "What's he driving at? What's the use to us?"—the busy labor leader feels before the pestering questioner. A year later the leader may be quoting enthusiastically the results of the research.

What is this kind of labor research? The two divisions roughly indicated above might be classified as (1) research into specific immediate problems confronting a union and

(2) research into long-term questions, half-understood habits of the movement, and their underlying industrial causes, questions regarded by labor as future "issues." The first kind of research tends to wind up with arbitration proceedings or strike publicity; the second deals with labor policies and it aims at being debated in conventions. For the first sort labor is now willing to pay cash; for the second some labor leaders frequently have brickbats ready. And yet it is the second sort which must have the more active cooperation of worker-researchers if it is to stand much chance either of being valid or of being used.

The Way of the Plumb Plan

CERTAINLY the differences are not always so clear cut as here made out. The process in the first kind is likely to be: the union leaders go to the researcher and say, "We're after a raise; get a lot of facts"; and the researcher tabulates living costs and production estimates and tries to force the owners to open their books. Particularly, if he succeeds with the books, his research is likely to branch out into the second kind. But usually in the second sort it is the researcher who goes to the rank-and-file and on up to union leaders asking, for example, "What do you propose to do about slack work at the soft coal mines and monopoly of the hard coal mines and non-union competition and threatened regulation and coming super-power developments"? And there have been cases where the cooperating labor leaders and researchers ended by saying "The only way out for the union is a new policy; nationalization of the mines; your plan, Mr. Plumb, for the railroads." And immediately this sort of research finds itself born for trouble.

But the trouble is part of the research. I used to discuss the subject with a man whose credo was: "Labor research is 'a small circle of thinkers and investigators in quiet touch' with the strategic men in the labor movement, offering them something for nothing—The time will always come when labor will discharge the group that aided. And the violence of the bump will be the measure of the faithful service of that group." Now, waiving the question whether the martyr's hair-shirt is the only hygienic garb for the researcher and admitting that cases of bumps easily recur to one's head, this theory is damaged by two difficulties. In collecting the facts, especially of democratic movements, you may find that the most important lie outside the bent of your small encircled strategists. In publishing the results, you can make scientific progress only by striking out with your tentative findings, no matter whose feelings or prestige get hurt, in order to gain more facts and new truths from the public democratic rub of idea on idea. Labor leaders who publish such research may be delighted by the results or they may get scared; but the way of science since Galileo has been through such public trials of "the truth, so help me God."

Research into the immediate union problems has the great merit of teaching the democratic habit of "government by appeal to the facts,"—government by common knowledge and common consent on the facts in a given

case, rather than the prejudices. Research into the interactions of industrial conditions and of labor movements—which develop labor movement policies—runs the persistent danger of vanishing into hot air. From this it can be saved only by the cooperation of the workers; it is a suggestion for getting workers as researchers that I have to make in this article.

Naturally a union undertaking to collect data deals best with the facts of an immediate problem rather than of a large question of policy, where the facts themselves lack labels. With data collected by the workers, such as disabled train service in a strike or disrupted mine production, heavy blows have been struck for Labor. The miners of Central Pennsylvania, because they have a unique central fund for paying checkweighmen, listed the 9,464 reports made by 364 checkweighmen during the year 1921, with their exact records of “tonnage” paid to 31,979 miners, and slammed the results down before the Congressional investigating committee last April:—\$14.60 weekly average earnings or \$760 for the year. When the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics submitted to the committee its estimate of miners’ average annual earnings,—\$1357 for the year,—the District Two miners promptly analyzed and denounced the government estimates for being based on less than 2 per cent of the mines of the country. The gap between their solid records of one district complete and “the 2 per cent statistics,” hammered home, had something to do with convincing Congress that the fact-finding Federal Coal Commission, demanded by the miners, was a necessity.

Things That Are Needed

BUT something much beyond checkweigh cards is required for even the beginnings of research into questions of labor policies.

Such research requires above everything **background**. It requires some general knowledge of industrial and social organization or disorganization, an outside viewpoint; also, that habit, called scientific, of measuring and weighing little facts in relation to larger schemes of things. No need to dwell on the handicaps of the worker-researcher in isolated mining towns, whose reference library is scraps of information in labor papers, without contact with any fellow student and without an idea of where his observations could be headed up and used. Getting such workers out and through labor colleges and the other long processes of workers’ education will slowly furnish the movement with men qualified to break over the handicaps. And here is the suggestion of an adjunctive short cut.

Put young college men into the mines and mills and onto the railroads,—and so into the unions,—to cooperate on researches. Some of the necessary background, something of the mental habit required and certainly specific objectives of work,—all these they would have from the start. Furnish them the means, call it scholarships, to travel from job to job, to take lay-offs for study and conference. Supply them with research-direction and avenues of publication. Keep it up—for continuity in long-term research is essential; and hope to lose some of them, “graduated” into places in the unions, particularly as writing spokesmen for labor.

A Rival Show

MANY young white-collar laborers go into industry now in order to flower out as “captains” competent to manhandle labor. To run a rival show on the other side of the economic fence might be a large order; to get one score of men out of the colleges, including labor colleges, and into key industries as worker-researchers seems not impossible.

A “highfalutin’” suggestion?

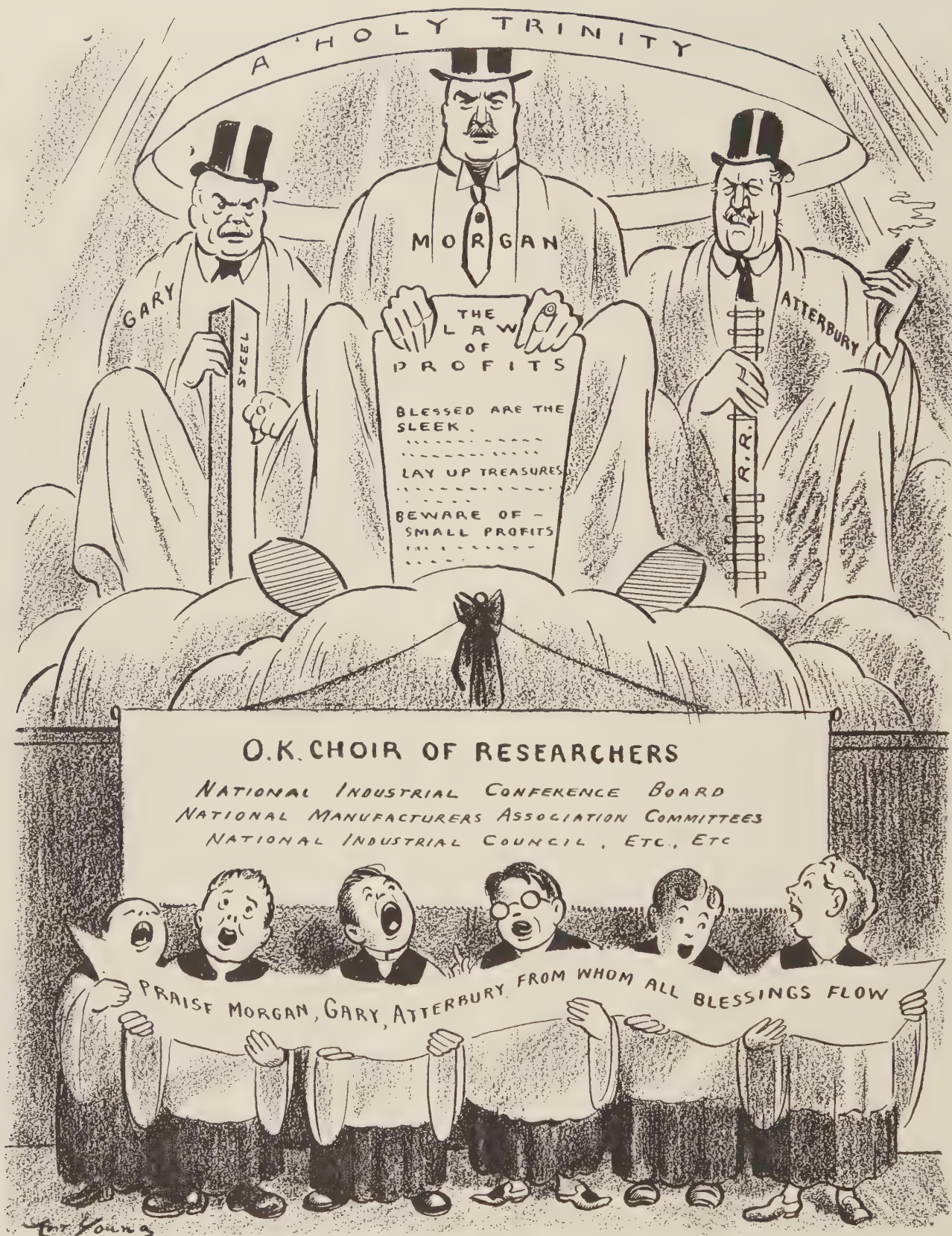
Well, there was a youth, Harvard, ’20, who went aworking in coal mines; researchers, in cooperation with the union, got him to studying first some of the immediate problems such as compensation and bad management conditions like car pushing and the lay of the land in neighboring non-union mines. He helped spread the “larger program” adopted by the Central Pennsylvania miners. Back to the mines later, and his research was interrupted because the union sent for him when those non-union mines began striking. For the past year Powers Hapgood has been an organizer in Somerset county, too busy leading men and sending news letters to an outside world to be able to do much research.

The history of two other college men is sadder, so far as the worker side of their research is concerned. One, after months of intensive study in the mining regions was about to take a pick and shovel job,—he had bought the overalls,—when a college yanked him out to teach. The other had worked on railroads a bit when the researchers headed him for the anthracite mines; for months he rummaged around in the miners’ towns and the miners’ minds, getting their problems sharply defined, and delving in every book and report that pretended to say anything on those problems, and thrashing it over with the union leaders: “why this? why that”? He was just ready to start downshaft to get the back-and-bones side of it all and take part in the union democracy when, confound it, the union swiped him to help formulate the anthracite case before the United States Coal Commission. Together they’ve been putting posers to the government fact-finders this winter.

John Mitchell and Walter Weyl

THE method is sense. It holds the entire policies research down to the hard facts of industry and of the movement. It is not new; twenty years ago Walter Weyl writing with John Mitchell the labor leader’s book on the American labor movement was a sample of a phase of it but it needs continuity and the working with the workers. Such researchers may link up the isolated, thinking, puzzling workers in an industry; may multiply the number of spokesmen in a union who can raise and answer such questions as: How does coal over-development smash my working week? How does monopoly reduce my wages? What does nationalization mean in my young life?

Most of all, they can be the authoritative sources of information for the labor movement of how and why and where democratic movements surge or stagnate, grow and have their being.



Drawn for LABOR AGE by Art Young.

DIVINE SERVICE

"If Labor's research agencies, and LABOR AGE, would join this chorus, there would be such sweet harmony," sayeth the Railway Review. (See page 17.)

"It's A Crool, Crool World"

*Sad Songs of Industrial Kings and Reactionary Politicians—As the
67th Congress Adjourns and "Labor Shortage" Increases*

By THE LABOR PRESS

KINGS, in the old Norsemen days, were a bloody brood. So at least the folk songs say. Their chief end of man was to murder or be murdered. It was nothing for a couple of kings, after dinner, to amuse themselves by throwing swords through each other's body. But they were dead game sports, and took almost as much pleasure in being killed as in killing the other fellow.

Our industrial kings of today have inherited much of this royal bloodthirstiness. Militia and private guards are their long suit. A great part of their day's "work" is given up to figuring how to squeeze down "labor costs"—which means, mainly, how to squeeze blood out of the "turnip" laboring man.

But there ends their resemblance to the old pirate kings. They take no joy in having any life squeezed out of themselves. At the least disturbance of their profits, they set up a cry that is heard throughout the land, running mournfully through all of the business press. Such a sad song is now filling our ears.

It is "the labor shortage" that is upon us. LABOR AGE has already reported some of the frantic demands of "12-Hour" Gary and "Open Shop" Emery for a change in the present immigration law. The old boys are really afraid that something will happen—that "something" being nothing more nor less than a series of strikes in steel, textiles and other unorganized or partly organized industries. Now, the Steel Trust comes along with its latest announcement that it will have to stop filling orders, until it finds out what the new costs are going to be. The price of steel may go up, it warns, because the Steel Kings are thinking about raising wages. It will be another "voluntary increase," you understand, such as was given last August—"to prevent a migration of labor from the steel mills to the mines," as the **New York Times** says. Of course, the **Iron Age**—organ of the steel industry—tries to tell us that it is not so bad after all, but it does this in a very, very uncertain way.

"Adam Coaldigger" of the **Illinois Miner** gives

us a tip on what the Gary-Emery demand is all about. Thus sayeth Adam:

"If you have watched the kept press of late, you will have noticed a rather intensive propaganda for an amendment to the immigration law. Behind the agitation is the National Association of Manufacturers. What they want now is cheap labor, rough labor, pick and shovel men. In other words they want 'hunkies'.

"Now, to my way of thinking a 'hunkie' is just as good a man as any other man if he behaves himself and most 'hunkies' do behave themselves. Moreover, 'hunkies' make just as good American citizens as any other of God's children.

"However, the Manufacturers' Association is not looking for raw material out of which to make American citizens. What they crave are big hands, strong backs and weak minds. They have even gone so far as to promise to Congress that the new comers shall not be given the right to become American citizens. The big idea behind the proposal is to accumulate in this great democracy a mass of voiceless, voteless, sightless two-legged working mules who will have no other connection with our country than to do the rough work of its owners."

And he adds: "Such a class of outlanders would form an ideal labor army to beat down the American standard of living."

The **Oregon Labor Press** points out that: "The increase in wages to workmen in the steel industry which U. S. Steel and others were forced to make because the immigration law prevented the influx of a swarm of cheap labor from Europe and Asia has not affected the earning power of the United States Steel corporation. Its report for the fourth quarter of 1922 shows net earnings of \$27,552,392 after operating expenses and taxes." This means that the Steel Trust is "able," even from its own viewpoint, to pay higher wages and to shorten hours. In other words, Gary was another Ananias when he declared in December that Steel's sacred profits would go to pot if the 8-hour day were introduced.

Next to the steel makers, it is the textile workers who have suffered from wave after wave of incoming immigrants. Each wave has served to cut the wages of those who came just before. With the bars up against immigration, this cannot so easily take place. Last year the Amalgamated Textile Workers and the United Textile

Workers won a smashing victory in New England. The bosses then sat up and took notice. Now, all through Massachusetts the workers at the looms are demanding higher pay. On March 16th this news item appeared in the daily press:

"The movement for a wage advance to textile operatives in New England, of whom there are 300,000, gathered strength today with the formal demand by the Fall River Textile Council for an increase of 15 per cent on April 2. That center of 36,000 workers, employed in 111 cotton mills, now stands doubly committed to a wage raise demand, the United Textile Workers of America having asked for a 29 per cent increase several weeks ago.

"The Executive Committee of the mill owners, who have declared they would close the mill gates and suspend operations rather than grant an advance that they say the mills cannot afford, considered the demand, but made no reply."



Labor

THANK GOODNESS, THAT'S OVER!

A week later the American Woolen Company—the Woolen Trust—announced a wage increase of 12½ per cent to all the operatives of that company. President William Wood had smelled the mouse, and decided to beat the union to it. His 60 mills extend through the New England States, New York and Kentucky. This has encouraged the workers to renew their demands everywhere—the unions asking for a 29½ per cent increase, at least in the Fall River district. Who knows, perhaps we will see a big upheaval in textiles which will put the union on the top—such as happened in the clothing industry twelve years ago. The time looks ripe.

While a labor shortage exists beyond doubt in the semi-skilled and partly organized industries, Secretary William J. Spencer of the Building

Trades Department of the A. F. of L., warns us that the same condition does not exist in the building trades. In the **Minnesota Union Advocate**, he brands as "preposterous" the claim of the Associated General Contractors that there is a lacking of building trade mechanics, as a result of the immigration shut-down. "In all trades of the building industry, with perhaps two exceptions," he says, "there is a surplus of labor and considerable unemployment." This would be made worse by any influx of "alien labor."

The interests found out too late about this "labor shortage" to get any action out of the 67th Congress. Otherwise, that body might have helped them out. For, as the **Buffalo New Age** sharply remarks, it was "on the whole a faithful servant of the money powers of the country." There was much sadness among these powers when that Congress came to an end. The "lame ducks" who walked out of it were, in the main, as **Labor** says, of the reactionary type. The Farmer-Labor victory of November put them on the shelf.

"It is doubtful whether in the whole history of the American government," writes Basil Manley, Director of the Peoples Legislative Service in the **Locomotive Firemen and Engineer's Magazine**, "any Congress has ever shown itself so utterly incapable and irresponsible." In his opinion, its historical name should be the "Don't give a damn Congress."

The **Minnesota Daily Star** agrees with this view, and call attention to the fact that: "With a majority that was top-heavy in both houses it was not able to put through most of its own measures." The Congress paid no heed to the big farm question of better farm prices, and met the demand of the farmers for credit with "a lone rural credit measure of rather doubtful quality." The **Star** thinks it "significant, however, that in this measure it has had to abandon its boasted theories of keeping the government out of business. The government is distinctly put into business in this rural credit measure passed in co-operation with private interests."

The Congress will also be "immortal" as "one of the most anti-labor administrations in the history of the country."

"But Congress did something," says the **New Age**, sarcastically. It refused the bonus to the soldiers when the bankers told them to do so. It cancelled the interest on the British debt for five years, which was equivalent to making the bank-

BEWARE! LABOR AGE READERS

BEWARE! *LABOR AGE* readers. You are being fed poison. So sayeth the *Railway Review* of Chicago, organ of the railway interests. Your gentle publication "stirreth up the people." It pictures the Profit Makers as something other than choirs of angels with gilded wings. (Pause for a moment and let your mind's eye frame J. P. Morgan, Elbert H. Gary and General Atterbury in this celestial role.) It thinks of them as devoting less than 24 hours per day to thoughtful care over the welfare of the workers. It even hints that the workers may well control industry, as they are supposed to control the Government. Therefore, the *Railway Review* puts its "verboden" on us—and on a number of labor research and fact-finding agencies.

But here is consolation: We are not the only ones attacked. Another Chicago institution, "Hell and Maria" Dawes, celebrates Washington's Birthday by attacking labor unions in general as radical and un-American." To him a proper answer was given by General Secretary J. W. Hays of the International Typographical Union: "Any man who uses the ravished and degraded term 'un-American' is deserving of intellectual ostracism." So we say to the editor of the *Railway Review*: "Go along, sonny, sell your papers to your masters. Give them a little thrill. It may bring more shekels to your publication."

ers of Wall Street and London a present of two billion dollars. It gave the railroad barons over a billion and a quarter dollars."

In the new Congress there will be a different line-up. The Farmer-Labor Alliance, headed by LaFollette, will hold the balance of power. What may be expected from this group has already been glimpsed by the findings of Senator LaFollette in regard to the Standard Oil Company. He shows that this company "holds the oil industry of this nation in the hollow of its hands." Its control is so complete that, if it wished, it could raise the price of gasoline to \$1.00 a gallon—

which would cause no end of trouble to the whole industrial machine. LaFollette recommends regulation of this business—with which conclusion *Labor*, organ of the rail unions, agrees. To the *Milwaukee Leader* this remedy seems to fall short. "It is a great pity," that paper says, "that the senator could not see his way clear to take a step forward and urge the public ownership and operation of the oil business."

But the People's Bloc do not stop with oil. Through the People's Legislative Service, they demand an inquiry into the price of sugar. In a letter to President Harding they state that a "criminal conspiracy" exists to boost the price of that necessity. In the last six weeks this price has shot up from 7 to 10 cents a pound—which means that American consumers have already been beaten out of \$15,000,000, and will lose \$300,000,000 in all before the end of the year if the price remains 10 cents.

These are but incidents in the whole program of the new Bloc—the existence of which was predicted by Laurence Todd in the March, 1922, *LABOR AGE*. That program, if it gets into action, is likely to make the Interests feel quite ill. It is not such a kind world after all!

In the meantime all labor men will chorus with the *Milwaukee Leader* this judgment of the Congress that is gone: "The 67th congress is dead—unwept, unhonored, unsung and hung." Its only good feature is that it did so little, for "better no laws than bad laws." Happiest of all, its end seems to mark the close of a period of Black Reaction. The day for a big shove forward by the allied producers has arrived.



Milwaukee Leader

STANDARD OIL

Pages from a Berlin Diary

Germany's Capital Today: A City of Champagne, Prostitutes and Misery

By HARRY KELLY

AN intimate, face-to-face view of the Berlin of today is given here in a few words. For a full story of the Rape of Germany, you should read, if you have the time, "The Decadence of Europe" by Francesco Nitti, former Premier of Italy. The unjust treatment of that nation is not only harming its people, we learn, but "poisoning the whole life of Europe."

FOR five weeks my friend and I wandered through the streets of Berlin—once the terror of Europe, now humbly begging for a chance to live.

It has no slums, and nothing so rich as Fifth Avenue or Riverside Drive. The poor districts are poor without being filthy slums—such as exist in American and English cities—and there are surely several private automobiles in New York to one in Berlin. If we judge by appearances, the rich are not so rich and the poor not so poor as in the U. S. A. But appearances do not always tell the tale.

A woman who had been deported from England with her husband told me she had been considered a pretty good dressmaker in London. Yet, she was receiving only 350 marks a week—out of which the government took 10 per cent, or 35 marks, at the factory. This left her 315 marks. A seat at the "Max Reinhart" Theatre at 300 marks meant practically a week's wages for the dressmaker. In the government opera house and government theatres the prices were not so high; but a friend who accompanied us to a performance of "Peer Gynt" told us he had tried for months to get a seat for a low price and had never been able to do so. Only a great lover of music and the fine arts can make the big sacrifices necessary to recreate himself in the Berlin of today. Necessities pinch the pocketbook equally as bad. For the unskilled workers they are "luxuries"—practically out of reach. The skilled workman has to work nearly a month for a suit of clothes, a week for a pair of shoes, and from three to four days for a hat. Poverty of the most wretched sort now sits in the home of the German worker.

Liquor and Prostitutes

Why do we then hear on all sides from foreigners the exclamations, "They can pay the indemni-

ties," and "Look at the liquor they drink," and "How they eat!" It is true "they" do eat and drink, but "they" are not the people in general.

Large numbers of foreigners, particularly Americans, who are benefiting by the low rate of exchange, are able to indulge in these luxuries. There are, also, many Germans of the profiteer class who are enjoying them.

It can easily be seen, after a tramp over the city, that there is not one Berlin; there are two. The downtown section of the city is flooded with cafés where "afternoon tea" is served from 5 to 6:30, accompanied by aesthetic dancing. At night the same places have elaborate cabarets with vaudeville shows lasting for three hours. Of course, tea is a figure of speech; they drink all kinds of liquor, and immense quantities of it, at that. Sometimes two sets of wine glasses can be seen in front of the drinkers at the same time. Added to all this there is an appalling number of prostitutes, an unfailing sign of both poverty and luxury.

Café life plays a great part in the existence of Berlin, as it does in that of most European cities. Yet, I venture it as a conservative statement, that 75 per cent of the women who frequent cafés and public restaurants in Berlin are prostitutes. As I saw girls of 16 and 17 plying their trade, it occurred to me that while forms have changed in essence, life remains the same. Centuries ago it was the custom for the conquerors of a country to carry off the women as captives. In Berlin and Vienna today the conquerors come and buy the women. Through a system of depreciated currency they buy them for a pittance.

I talked with two girls in one of the better class cafés, where one with American money can sit and listen to a fine orchestra and see beautiful dancing for 15 or 20 cents. Their answers to my

questions would make an interesting story in itself. There was nothing maudlin in the histories of the pretty little blue-eyed German girl or the equally small and young Polish Jewess—no tales of seduction or of hard-hearted parents to drive them to the life they were leading. They were both 17. They did not look any older. They had been street girls, as they called themselves, for two years; and yet, no sign of dissipation showed in either. They had taken up the form of life they were leading because they liked men, brightness and joy; and also, although they did not stress the point, because they were unable to live on the money they earned at office work. They

Frenchman offered them 500 marks they would prefer the American or Englishman. Such are the seeds being sewed by the French in their policy of hate and stupidity.

Many waiters in cafés had lived and worked in English cities, chiefly London. Their opinion of the French was the same as the girls. One waiter told me he spoke French as well as he did English. "But," he added, "when I see a Frenchman approaching my table I speak only German." Certain places have signs up stating, "No French cognac served here."

While I was in Berlin, the big railway strike broke. For three days I was thrilled by what



Keystone Photos

BERLIN'S PROTEST

Under the bronze statue of Bismarck at the Koenigsplatz, a monster mass meeting hooted French imperialism and the invasion of the Ruhr.

were frank, intelligent and not in the least sentimental. In fact, their answer to my question: "Have you a sweetheart?" was "No, it would be too much of a strain," in view of the life they were leading.

"No French Cognac"

They knew little of the reasons or results of the war. But they said many significant things relating to it. One was, their opinion of the French—which they expressed in terms purely commercial. If an American or Englishman offered them 100 marks to go with him, and a

seemed to me the solidarity, not only of the railway men but of the street car men, electricians and the water department workers. Stoppage of the water was a serious and unfortunate affair. Berlin is a modern city. Without water its sanitary condition would have been deplorable. Fortunately, the shutdown there lasted only one day. Not a street car ran for over a week, although the partial operation of the Underground Railway and the complete operation of the large system of auto buses helped to break the strike. The city was in darkness for an entire week. All opera houses,

theatres, and 99 per cent of the cafés and night restaurants were compelled to close at dark, for lack of artificial light. The unity seemed wonderful.

The Strike That Was Lost

Then came the awakening. I learned that the "Majority Socialists" and their chief organ had condemned the strike from the first day. They called the men traitors to Socialism and demanded they return to work. Then there appeared on the city billboard, posters signed by the officials of nine of the largest trade unions in the country, calling the strikers names and demanding that they return to work at once. I also learned that the action of the municipal workers in striking at the same time as the railway men was purely accidental. So the "wonderful solidarity" which had thrilled me was a myth! With such opposition it was certain that the strike would fail; and on my last day in Berlin I sat in the gallery of the Reichstag and listened to the then Chancellor Wirth talking about passing a law punishing strikes. This, from the man described to American newspaper men as the most liberal in the Reichstag! "Comrade" Ebert, President of the Republic, after the men refused to return to work, seized the unions' funds in the banks—although there was no law at that time justifying such action.

One of the greatest hoaxes ever put over on the world was the claim that a strong socialist movement existed in Germany. Residence in Berlin brings that home forcibly. The Majority Socialists were, and are, no more socialist than William Jennings Bryan; and their conception of democracy and liberty is equally vague. The "Socialists" had the government literally thrust on them when the Kaiser ran away to Holland; yet they failed even to seize the Crown Lands. Although over three years have elapsed since this so-called revolution took place, not a single thing has been socialized. The Crown is still above the republican flag on the Reichstag building. Even the bust of that arch-foe of parliamentary government, Bismark, remains in the chamber he tried so hard to destroy. There is also the military museum on "Unter den Linden," where the history of war through thousands of years can be studied—to the glorification of the Hohenzollerns. Everything from a spear to an aeroplane can be found there—which does not make for anti-militarism!

The Immediate Future?

With the failure of the Russian Revolution confronting them, the masses are, for the most part, afraid even to attempt to revolt. The Communists, after returning 34 or 35 members to the Reichstag at the last election, promptly split in two parts—as they have done all over the world. The government has no policy except bargaining as to the amount of indemnities to be paid. The workers, meantime, are living on Coolie standards in order to obtain work from other countries and pay these indemnities.

There is a vigorous but small Anarcho-Syndicalist movement among the workers. This movement is based upon the belief that political socialism has had its chance in Germany and failed; that if the workers want control of industry they must create their own leaders and take it themselves. If they do this, it is argued, it will not matter who sits in the Reichstag or even controls the banks. For, an honest attempt will cause the workers of other countries—even those of France, now pressing them so cruelly—to extend their aid and sympathy. They have between 150,000 to 200,000 members, and publish a paper, with a circulation of 75,000 copies weekly. Attempts at colonization are also being made; which means, at least, that the land question will be discussed. Until the land question is settled, it is safe to say, socialization of any sort is a dream.

The immediate picture for Germany, all in all, is not particularly bright.

So this is the Berlin of today—with champagne corks popping and orchestras playing side by side with hunger and nakedness. Thousands of people are gambling from day to day on the rise and fall of the mark—scarcely the same two days in succession. The question of the "valuta" (the gambling exchange) is the burning question, and is discussed everywhere. The mid-day editions of the newspapers carry across the top of the front page the number of marks to the dollar for that day. In cafes, theatres, on the street, everywhere, people can be seen and heard discussing the money's ups and downs. Out in Charlottenburg—the wealthy residential district—Russian monarchists and "refugees" are pouring in—150,000 have come already. They even have their daily newspaper, Russian theatre and Russian cabaret. It is a feverish, depressing, confused city—peering across the miles to the advance of the gray lines of the French, which threaten it.

Out of the Trap

Knowledge Necessary for the Workers' Freedom

By PRINCE HOPKINS

A GREAT difference between the way in which lower animals think, and the way in which men are able to think, was shown by Prof. Thorndike, of Columbia, in his famous experiments on cats.

Thorndike put his cats into boxes from which they could only escape by pulling a latch in a certain way. On finding themselves in such a box, the cats always bit, scratched, pushed and clawed everything in sight—until by sheer accident they did the right thing that let them out. On being put into the box a second time, they went through the whole performance again as before, only coming to the right action generally a trifle sooner. And so on, time after time. Until, at the end of many, many days the cats had learned to drop out one after another of the useless motions and to perform only those needed to pull the latch.

This method of blundering along until our lesson is beaten into us as a result of many failures, is called the method of trial and error. Most animals and some people learn in no other way. How often we see human beings exhibit no more intelligent method of forming their way out of a trap, than Thorndike's cats!

The Same Tricks

Take a group of laborers who are caught between the upper and lower millstones of small wages and high prices. They strike out blindly. Some move to another town, to try if their luck is better there. Others organize a strike upon a petty scale which is easily crushed. It may be they have been in such a situation a dozen or a score of times before, but they go over the same repertory of tricks to secure a temporary advantage which they may easily lose again next season.

Now, there are some differences between the intelligence of one cat and that of another. One cat may take only ten days to learn to operate a latch, where it will take another cat fifty days.

But between the intelligence of a man (and possibly of some clever orang-utans) and that of a cat, we expect to find a still greater gap. It is so great that we call it "not a difference in degree, but a difference in kind" of intelligence. For where the cat merely acts, the man studies out. He does this in two ways.

In the first place, the man of real brains is more ready to break away from what the psychologist Freud calls the "repetition compulsion." He doesn't so strongly feel compelled to try, today, everything he tried yesterday, in the hope that by mere chance he'll again hit on the right action. Instead, he sits down and reflects: "It was only when I did so and so that I managed to escape." So he at once drops all the useless methods and tries the one trick which was successful.

Others in Traps

Moreover, a cat could only remember experiences in its own life, by which to judge what would be the most successful way to escape from Prof. Thorndike's box. But when a man is in a trap he can inquire what other men have done when they found themselves in similar traps. This inquiry is called Research.

Research must be always on the alert to see that the records of how men in past times met their problems, haven't been falsified by dishonest historians and by statisticians who sold themselves to exploiters of the common man.

In the second place, there's still another way in which the man of real brains acts differently from a mere cat. Namely, in that when he first finds himself in a trap, he begins by examining how the trap is constructed. Having discovered this, he may be able to get out at the first effort.

Steps in Thinking

The process of how we think has been found by Professor John Dewey to consist in five steps.

The first step is simply this consciousness of a problem. We think "here is a trap I must get out of!" It may be Professor Thorndike's box for cats, or it may be the circumstances of the poor fellow who finds it increasingly hard to support his family.

The second step is, to see clearly just what the problem is. Thus the family may say, "As fast as we get an increase of wages, the bosses raise prices on us."

The third step is, to suggest ways out. "We workers might vote politicians into office who would favor us in disputes with employers," he thinks, "or we might get up a consumers' co-operative, to buy things more cheaply, or we might run factories of our own, employing our

BY-PRODUCTS OF RESEARCH

LAST year the textile workers of New England sprang a surprise in their big strike. For years these workers had been unable in any crisis to attract public attention to their situation, the favorable publicity which they received in the daily press showed that Labor can obtain a wider hearing for its case—with Expert aid. Again in New England at the present time, publicity in regard to the New Haven is aiding the shopmen's cause. Here, too, the Labor Bureau is employed.

In addition to such direct results of labor research, there are many helpful by-products.

The Labor Bureau has now begun a monthly economic press service—sold to labor papers and labor organizations. The Bureau of Industrial Research has gotten together the best list of references on Coal in the United States. The Government is now making use of it. The library of the latter bureau has been used as a workshop by a number of investigators. Sidney Howard's fine expose of the "Labor Spy" originated in that way.

Thus, from out of direct research efforts are coming other things, to serve as ammunition in Labor's battle for better and better conditions.

own technical experts just as the bosses now have to."

The fourth step is to develop further in thought the details and possibilities of the most likely-seeming of these suggestions. Thus: "If we and the technicians run a factory of our own, the profits which now are going to idle shareholders will remain in the business. This will make it possible to produce better and cheaper goods and to pay higher wages."

The fifth and final step is to put our developed theory to the test. "Do factories run by workers and technicians without the capitalist really produce better and cheaper goods and pay higher wages, in practice, or not?"

So much for the five steps in reasoning. At each one after the first, a mental process is called for, which some individuals will perform well, and some badly. And in complex matters, whether they think well or badly may depend on whether they rely on their own limited experience, or whether they fortify this with the experience of others, as reached through research.

If we merely guess at the factors involved in wages and prices, we shall not get as near the facts as if we investigated them laboriously.

If we rely on our individual ingenuity to suggest solutions we shall not think of as many workable plans as if we inquired carefully regarding all the projects which have so far been proposed.

If we leave it to our individual imaginations to develop the possibilities of, say, the workers and

technical control plan, we shall hardly come to as fruitful a result as after having carefully read what the very best minds had to say on the subject.

Finally, if we trust to our limited observation exclusively to pass finally upon the developed idea in practice, we shall make many more mistakes than if we employed a reliable bureau of experts to give us statistics on the subject. They alone can tell us under what circumstances factories turned out better goods, kept down prices and paid high wages.

The Million Weary Footed

Now, if the problem under consideration is no more than how to get a cat out of a cage, all the elaboration of research is hardly worth while. Simple problems can be met with simple methods. But equally true it is, that complex problems require complex methods. And the cat of which we have been thinking isn't the little four-footed creature experimented on by Professor Thorndike. It is the many million weary-footed working class of the world. Its trap is no little box with wooden sides, but that intricate structure built of unjust laws and wasteful customs in which they have been held for ages by the exploiters of the world.

To escape from such a trap, guessing and over-confidence and poor logic and ignorance will not suffice. Knowledge is necessary to the workers, and employment of technical aid, and accurate reasoning on their part, and research.

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

(By the Manager, in Cooperation with the Board of Editors.)

THE REAL THING

Watch the Labor Press! It is growing better and better every day. During the last few months there has been a marked step forward. This means that Labor's message of group action will be gotten over in a more inspiring and gripping way. It means that a larger and larger group of men and women, both in and out of the unions, will heed Labor's program and be willing to go out and fight for it.

Three labor publications may be pointed to as samples of what is taking place. They are among the leaders in their respective types of journalism. Among dailies, there is the MINNESOTA DAILY STAR. It is a real newspaper. It has all the features of the business daily—the best sporting page in the Twin Cities, the widest news service, the “inevitable” funny page. But it is none the less aggressive in its stand for Labor and the Farmers, and all progressive steps. In the last campaign it was the only daily in Minnesota to support the winning Farmer-Labor candidate for U. S. Senator.

In the weekly field, the ILLINOIS MINER is worth mentioning. It is edited by Oscar Ameringer, who has done so much to make the OKLAHOMA LEADER a live daily newspaper. This paper, as is proper with a weekly, confines itself to labor and economic matter—but it dishes this out in the most attractive form. It uses the approved tricks of journalism, and its “Adam Coaldigger” articles have run time after time through the whole labor press. They are brief, punchy, humorous, effective.

Then, there is the LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS' JOURNAL. It is the sort of international union organ that “gets across.” It does not confine itself to international union news and opinions. It goes out into the big world of political and economic life, and gives its readers a view of the whole problem confronting Labor. For this job it gets the best writers possible, vying with the standard magazines in its contributors. And to top it all off, it is put up in a fashion that challenges attention. To this fine effort to make the union message inspiring and effective, all must say “Bravo!”

These are but a few signs of the new journalism that is rising. It is class journalism. But it is learning technically from the successful business press. It is non-dogmatic. It is simple. It is full of punch. It is progressive. It is not threatening to tear the movement to pieces in the name of an infallible way to salvation. It stands for true unity in Labor's ranks, moving forward to workers' control of industry. The roll includes a number of others—the TOLEDO UNION RECORD, for example. It is a paper that knows well how to record Labor's doings and aspirations, pointing also in the right direction.

Another interesting development is the use of the tabloid form by the SEATTLE UNION RECORD and the OKLAHOMA LEADER. It should prove effective, if enough cartoons and photographs are used. The value of the photograph and cartoon in labor journalism cannot be over-estimated. In a few words they tell their real story—often at a glance. There are so many folks today, too, who “run as they read.” A photo holds their interest, and persuades them to further reading. Humor likewise hits home. More and more humor will make the labor press more and more productive.

All of which is fine to see. The workers can rely only on their own press, under their own control, to tell them always the facts—particularly in times of crisis. Sentimental journals, business or idealistic, may help Labor from time to time. But in the real hand-to-hand fight with the enemy, Labor can only depend on such allies as are dependent on it economically. So much the more need for the rapid development of a real press of its own.

“SCHOOL NIGHTS”

NO LONGER does the worker go only to the “little red school house” for his education. He finds his way, after working hours, to his union's place of learning. All of which does not make the sleep of the enemies of Labor sweet and restful.

This movement, already well advanced, has now received the full endorsement of the American Federation of Labor. On April 14th and 15th the third conference of the Workers' Education Bureau will be held in New York City. It will meet, with the agreement between the Bureau and the A. F. of L. in full force. Matthew Woll, Chairman of the A. F. of L. Committee on Education, is now chairman of the executive committee of the Bureau, President G. W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers and John

P. Frey of the Molders also represent the A. F. of L. officially on this committee. A special appeal to all international and local unions has been sent out by Samuel Gompers, asking them to affiliate with the Workers' Education Bureau. This means that the Bureau is now part of the A. F. of L.'s regular program of activities.

The conference this year will get down to business perhaps more thoroughly than ever before. Questions as to the best way to conduct classes, and the whole problem of making the job of workers' education interesting to the pupil, will receive careful attention.

Every loyal labor man will say “fine” to these efforts. For, the extension of education under the union's own control means that the worker will more and more be able to take up the job of running the industry in which he works.

DOING IT WITH A PUNCH



The Locomotive Engineers Journal for March, 1923 199

Public Ownership of the Nation's Power

By CARL D. THOMPSON, Secretary, Public Ownership League of America

VI ELECTRICITY IN THE HOME

This is the sixth of a series of articles describing the wonders and possibilities of hydro-electric and super-power development in the home, city, state and nation, especially under public ownership. They are based on actual achievements already made by various cities and states, and are written especially for the LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS JOURNAL by Carl D. Thompson, Secretary of the Public Ownership League of America. This league is a national non-partisan organization promoting public ownership, and will gladly answer inquiries on the subject addressed by readers of the JOURNAL to its headquarters, 127 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago.

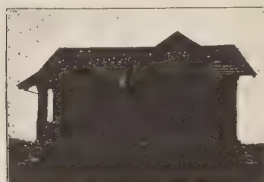


IF YOU have never cooked a meal of victuals over a hot stove on a hot summer day, and if you do not care for those who have to do such things—electric fuel may not interest you. If you have never rubbed your knuckles sore over the edges of a wash board, if you have never bent double to scrub a dirty floor, or tugged to beat a carpet or rug, or toiled from morning to night to keep a house clean; if you have never built a fire, chopped wood, shoveled coal into a furnace or carried out the ashes—if you have never done any of these things, and care nothing for those who must—then electricity in the home may not interest you.

But if you have done any of these things—if you know what they mean in toil and sweat and ache and weariness, and if you care about the lot of those working hours of whose lives are given chiefly in this kind of toil, then indeed you will be interested in what electricity can do for the home.

A Servant in Every House

Or again, if you are rich enough so that you can hire some one to do this kind of work for you or rich enough so that you do not need to care if it costs two or three times as much to use electricity for domestic purposes as it does to use coal

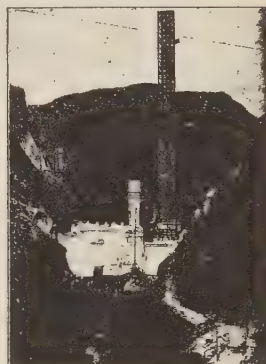


ONE OF TACOMA'S HOUSES WITHOUT CHIMNEYS. The coal goes in—no ashes come out. It is one of the typical cottages of the employees of the city of Tacoma. There are thirteen of them—all are equipped for electric light, heat and cooking. There are no stoves or furnaces.

and gas—you may not be interested. But if you are not so fortunately situated as that, and especially if you belong to that great mass of the American people who must always choose the cheapest way, and whose wives, mothers and sisters must always do the housework themselves, then indeed the possibilities of electricity in the home are of the greatest possible concern to you.

We reproduce here a photograph of a house—one of a type of houses now being built in Tacoma, Washington, without any chimneys. It is an electric home—a home without stove or furnace—no coal goes in, no ashes come out.

In Tacoma the municipally owned electric power plant supplies the homes of the people with current for cooking at one



SAN FRANCISCO'S PUBLICLY OWNED HYDRO-ELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT. The city has crossed mountain range, valley and bay to bring water, light and power from the little-Sacramento Valley in the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the homes of the citizens at the lowest possible cost.

cent a kilowatt hour and for heating at one-half a cent a K. W. H. The municipal plant in Springfield, Illinois, is doing almost as well. And these are isolated municipally owned plants, and for that reason do not have the advantage of superpower production which we have described in a previous article. Ontario cities are connected up with a great superpower system, and rates are steadily going down even below those mentioned above. It is certain, therefore, that

Showing
why the
Minnesota
Daily Star,
Illinois Miner,
and Locomotive
Engineers' Journal
"get across"
their message.

LABOR BANKS — A REMINDER AND A SENATOR

HARD upon the "invasion" of New York by the bank of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers comes the announcement of the establishment of labor banks in the metropolis by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. This means that four labor banks are about to be opened in Gotham—the fourth being the Federation Trust and Savings Bank, launched by the New York State Federation of Labor and the New York City Central Labor Council.

The March issue of the *American Federationist*, official organ of the A. F. of L., takes notice of this new movement, and calls attention to the fact that certain reactionary forces—the National Industrial Conference Board, for example—are trying to show that labor banks

mean the end of militancy and of the use of the strike among American labor unions.

"Working people are not organizing banks for the purpose of making strikes impossible," says the *Federationist*, "because they know that no such thing can happen. The necessity for the strike will cease when there are no longer conditions imposed upon wage-earners against their will and to which they cannot agree."

We are further reminded that while "Labor Banks are O. K.," none of them today can be run on true cooperative principles. "Labor banks, like any other banks, must conform to banking laws"—and the present banking laws prevent cooperative banking. That was also shown in the last issue of *LABOR AGE*, in regard to the Minnesota labor banking situation. While those who desire to do so, should engage "in any legitimate activ-

ity that will relieve them from a measure of exploitation," the A. F. of L.'s magazine says, it tells us to remember that:

"There are in existence few if any really cooperative banks. About the best that can be done at present by banks which are under the control of workers is to eliminate some of the more outstanding evils of the banking business. For example, the collection of usurious interest can be discontinued. The levying of inexcusably high premiums for financial accommodation can also be stopped. Profits can be distributed to a considerable extent to depositors. There can be a more just discrimination in the matter of making loans. Where loans are made to industrial corporations they can be made without the attaching of improper conditions which restrict the policies of the industrial organization in such things as the matter of employment."

In other words, the workers can use their money for their own benefit, instead of turning it over to the hands of their enemies.

But Senator Smith W. Brookhart of Iowa is planning to remedy this situation whereby Labor Banks (and Farmers' Banks) cannot be truly cooperative. He signaled his appearance in the last session of Congress by introducing a bill which allows banks to organize along cooperative lines. Not only did the bill do that. It also provided for the creation of a separate Cooperative Reserve System, when 1,000 labor and farmer banks shall have been organized under its provisions.

The bill died in committee; but Senator Brookhart is not letting the matter rest there. He is planning to reintroduce the bill in the next session. Then the Farmer-Labor forces will be in the saddle in all probability, and the bill's chances for going through are good. LABOR AGE readers should get behind the Iowa Senator in this effort. They can help to spur on their own representatives and Senators in its support by writing them about it. When the proper time to strike comes, LABOR AGE will let you know of it in these columns.

This bill will not only free labor and farmer banks from the necessity of organizing largely according to the present private banking plan. It may also go far toward a definite line-up of the two systems—one against the other. Senator Brookhart's idea is, frankly, to supplant private banking with the cooperative system. Nothing can be done toward this end until cooperative banks can really exist, and can ally themselves together in a reserve system of their own.

NEW LIFE

PONCE DE LEON should have known of Organized Labor. He would have learned a few points about Eternal Youth. Spring is here, and with it has come new life all through the country for the Movement—so hard pressed during the past few years by the "Open Shop Campaign."

The victory of the 25,000 dress and waist makers—foretold in the February LABOR AGE—has given encouragement to American Labor everywhere. The Labor Press is full of the good news. The 40-hour, 5-day week was established and a substantial raise in wages secured. The children's dressmakers' strike, carried on at the same time for organization purposes, was equally successful. Thousands of new members were added to the union's rolls. This happy outcome marks the beginning of the administration of Morris Sigman, the new president of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Out on the Pacific Coast, in San Francisco and in Oakland, the building trades are carrying on one of the biggest organization drives in their history. They have stood the brunt of perhaps the bitterest of the "Open Shop" onslaughts. All was not well at "home" either; for it has just been discovered that P. H. McCarthy, President of the San Francisco Building Trades Council for years, had been also secretly in the employ of large corporations. The new drive has the help of the state building trades, under the direction of President F. C. McDonald.

Through the Middle West a local union label movement has sprung up—first in St. Louis and then in Minneapolis, Chicago, Louisville and other cities. It has been of great practical help to the union printers, in particular, in their fight for the 44-hour week.

Movements for better wages and conditions are on foot in many places, with distinct chances for success. All around, 1923 should see Labor come back in all the hitherto well-organized industries with the punch of a real champion. (The story of the weakly organized industries is told in full on page 15.)

With Our British Brothers

BONAR LAW'S DEFEATS—AND WHY

TORY governments have no easy time in the Britain of today. Sir Andrew Bonar Law, recently elected Premier, is already in hot water. In trip hammer fashion, three of his official family have been defeated in the last few weeks in bye-elections. Two of them went down before candidates of the Labor party. The newspapers have given much space to these defeats—but have not told of the crisis after crisis which the Premier has brought down upon his own head by his efforts to put through a complete reactionary policy.

The serious situation confronting the English nation was well illustrated on the opening day of the new Parliament, February 13th. "Parliament was opened by the King yesterday," reports the London *Daily Herald*, organ of the trade unions and the Labor Party, "amid the customary surroundings of gilded pomp and splendour. Before the passing of the Royal procession there was a parade—less picturesque but more deeply impressive—

of workless marchers, whom the police turned back at Whitehall." In the afternoon of that same day a big demonstration of unemployed took place in Hyde Park, to welcome back to London the northern hunger marchers, who have been parading all through the northern country, to call attention to "Britain's open wound"—the millions of unemployed.

The government's only program of relief seems to be emigration to the colonies—for workers 14 years of age or over! Against this "diabolical scheme" the Labor party launched a fierce attack, which weakened the Tories in the early days of the session. Then, a week later, Labor staggered the government by reducing its great majority in Parliament to a bare 22. The vote came on the question of abolishing the "inquisition" into the financial resources of old age pensioners, which is now carried on under the pension act. The Labor group insisted that this be discontinued. The government declared that it would consider the vote "a question of confidence," on which it would stand or fall. When the small majority

THE PAINTERS' FINE JOB

"THE Painters of New York are alive to the dangers of their trade." Thus begins **Health Facts**, the report of the New York District Council, No. 9, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, on their new Health Department. Because they are aware of these dangers, they have established this Health Department for the prevention of industrial disease.

Health Facts tells a story that should be read by every active union man. It shows in a few words what the painters have paid their industry in sickness and death. Accidents among them are much higher than among the general population—higher even than among Masons and Bricklayers. Poisoning from dust and fumes plays havoc in their working ranks. Every material they handle is loaded with these deadly weapons. More dangerous than all is Benzine or Benzole. "It takes only a small amount of benzole to kill a man," says the report. "Two or three parts of benzole to 100,000 parts of air breathed for a few hours, may cause loss of consciousness." This poison destroys the white and red blood cells, without which life cannot go on.

Tuberculosis also comes in to reap its harvest. Anemia (bloodlessness) and hardening of the arteries are common. When it is all summed up, it is seen that painters have an average length of life of only 46 years, while the average life of the general population is 62 years.

The Health Department of District 9 means to change this situation. Its clinic is equipped in the most modern fashion. It has the aid of the best medical assistance and advice. It has the constant cooperation of the Workers' Health Bureau, which is largely responsible for its origin.

During the last year 267 men were examined at its clinic. Of these, 165 were suffering from industrial disease, 88 had non-occupational illness, and only 14 were in good health. "Faced with the facts," as the report says, "the painters must turn their attention to PREVENTION."



"PULL?"

Dental Examining Room, Painters' Health Department

was made known, cries of "Resign, Resign!" resounded through the Chamber.

Troubled Waters

Apparently unaware, even then, of the feeling of the country, on the very next day the government entered the troubled waters of rent restriction—which was the straw that broke the camel's back. The story of what it all means runs as follows: As a result of the war England found itself 800,000 houses short. Without government interference, tenants would have been completely at the mercy of the landlords. In 1915, an Act was passed, placing houses of the cheapest grade under government control, and restricting rent increases for such

houses. In 1919, a higher type of house was added to this control, and in 1920 a still higher type was included. The government's proposal—fostered by Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, Minister of Health—was to "decontrol" or turn back to the mercy of their landlords, the tenants of the 1919 and 1920 houses, next year. The lower grade were to be decontrolled in 1925. The act also allowed the landlords to collect certain formerly illegal rents. Labor took up the cudgels for the tenants of all classes of houses, demanding that there be no let-up of government control until at least 1930 and that there be no handing over of illegal rents. This won to their standard the middle classes, and particularly the women.

HEALTH VALUE OF THE 5-DAY WEEK



"A STITCH IN TIME — —"

Laboratory, Painters' Health Department.

The inevitable result came swift and sure. The hyphenated Minister of Health was among the three of Bonar Law's official family to come up for re-election just at this critical time—and was one of the three to be badly beaten. The resignation of the defeated ministers followed, and the government's housing policy was put in cold storage, probably to be amended.

But Bonar Law's troubles have not ended with the domestic situation. Along comes the question of what to do about France's invasion of the Ruhr. The announced program of the Premier is "tranquility"—by which is meant a silent O. K. of what France is doing. To this, both Labor and Liberal parties join in objecting. The Labor spokesmen warn that it means a not-far-distant war. On

a show-down, the government was able to muster a majority of only 48. It is experiencing the weakness within its own ranks that Felix Morley predicted for it in the January LABOR AGE.

"His Majesty," George V, sees the way the wind is blowing. He made a neat little speech of his own the other day, expressing concern about the sufferings of his people. For the first time in England's history, leaders of the Labor Party have been invited to dine with the Royal Family. They accepted, appearing in the regulation knee breeches, which have also graced the form of our own American Ambassador. All of which caused a storm of protest from labor men in different sections of the country—who evidently fear that their representatives will be weaned away from

"THE difference between the 40-hour week and the 44-hour week for Painters decreases the hours of exposure to poisonous dusts and fumes by 9 per cent. These four hours away from work increase the resistance of the body against disease by providing time for Rest."

This paragraph from **Health Facts** is eloquent testimony to the need of the shorter work week for Painters.

"While the difference between a 40 and a 44-hour week appears to involve only an additional four hours of work," the report goes on to say, "it actually deprives the painter of a full day's rest, away from his work. Under a 40-hour week the painter leaves his work Friday at 5 o'clock and has two full days' time in which to recover from the poisonous atmosphere."

No one who reads the report can doubt that the 40-hour week in the painting trade is an absolute necessity, to prevent industrial disease and to stop the early deaths among men of that craft.

This entire pamphlet—attractively gotten up, easily readable, bristling with facts—is worthy of study by every union leader. First, in its contents, it shows how the workers can take over and handle their own health agencies, free from the interference of the bosses. Then, in its style and make-up it also suggests how trade union statements can be prepared so that they will convey their message effectively and well.

Unions wishing to get reliable information on the diseases in their industry, and how such can be prevented, should write the Workers' Health Bureau, 799 Broadway, New York City. Not only will the Bureau give them valuable aid in winning health, but also facts which will assist in their effort for a shorter work-week.

LABOR AGE

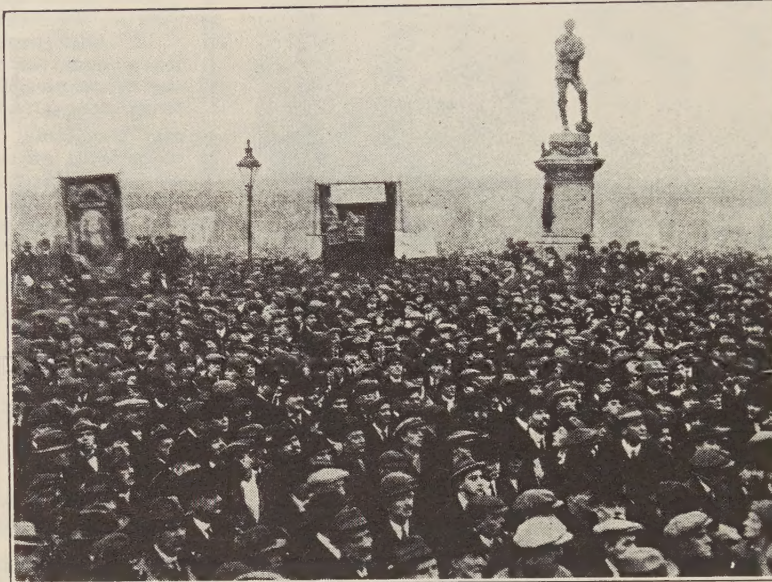
Labor's cause by the smiles of the Court. The fall of political leader after leader of the French workers, Jean Jaures has written, took place in a much similar way. But if the words of the British Labor men, in the parliamentary debates, are any index of their attitude, such a thing will not happen. Their attack, they stress in

every occasion, is on the Old Order and all that goes with it.

There is no doubt that Labor is approaching political control in Great Britain. What it will do with it—and with such ticklish problems as imperialism and the colonies—is still a question for the future.

FERTILE SOIL FOR BRITISH LABOR'S NATIONALIZATION PROGRAM

"Unemployment
Sunday"
Demonstration
in
Trafalgar Square,
London



One Incident
in story
of England's
starving
Land and City
"Workless"

In England the unemployed have not only organized, but have conducted demonstrations in all parts of the country. Their bands of hunger marchers have called dramatic attention to the sufferings of the English workers.

It is not only the workers in the cities who are hit by this dread plague. Some day a historian of the future will draw from the following picture—presented by Will Smith, leader of the Unemployed Rural Workers—to show how low the workers of the Capitalistic Dark Ages had sunk:

HUNGER STALKS OVER RURAL ENGLAND

THE LAND IS FORGOTTEN. And the people are dying. Dying a moral death.

Never within the knowledge of the oldest agricultural worker has the land been in such a state. Thousands of acres of our best arable land have gone out of cultivation within the last two years. Thousands of the most expert of the agricultural workers are walking the country lanes in search of a stray hen, rabbit, or even a blackbird, to give their families a morsel of food.

The farmers say that they cannot afford to pay for their labor, even at 25s. for a 50-hour week. Unhappily, this is, in many cases, only too true. Agriculture in England is dead! The progress of Capitalism has killed it.

Farmers have sown their seeds, their potatoes, etc., and when the most bounteous crops have been obtained, they found they could not sell them. Those workers who are hungry in the towns will do well to remember that thousands of tons of potatoes and other foodstuffs are rotting on the land because the cost of getting them to the towns is so great.

Another year of this will see two-thirds of the farming class in the bankruptcy court, and the whole of the agricultural population starving. There is something said of a Commission to sit shortly to consider the position in agriculture. But before that Commission can report its findings I fear that a mere palliative measure will have become useless.

A subsidy would be useless, and, what is more, would be positively harmful. The very best that can be done is to remove the landowning class now! These nice old country gentlemen are riding on the backs of the hard-working farmers, destroying their initiative and killing all enterprise. And they are starving the workers.

(It is in soil such as this that British Labor's land nationalization program is being planted. When Parliament on Easter Monday debates Philip Snowden's motion to socialize the land and industries, think of the audience of millions of unemployed and the hard-pressed middle classes who will follow it with a life-and-death interest!)

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

The books mentioned below are intended, largely, for students of the special subjects covered. All of them, however, would be good additions to trade union libraries—where they could be consulted by active members of the union.

EUROPE

AT this time, when French invasion of the Ruhr has centered interest once more upon European military policy, two books of outstanding interest are Francesco Nitti's **The Decadence of Europe** (Translation by F. Brittain, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1923, 10 shillings net) and Charles F. Masterman's **England After War** (Hodder & Stoughton Ltd., London).

Nitti, former premier of Italy, bringing to bear all the power of his great political experience, inveighs powerfully against the Treaty of Versailles and the provocative policy of France, whom he calls "the main obstacle to reconstructing Europe." His exhaustive analysis of the European situation is pessimistic (quite rightly, as I conclude from my own recent visit there). Nevertheless it concludes with a chapter on "The Paths of Reconstruction."

Masterman also is convinced that "there is not one good cause which can be said to have been enriched by the murderous operations of this war." His study, however, is concentrated upon conditions in England. For this he is peculiarly fitted by the fact that fourteen years ago he put out a survey of Conditions of England—conditions, as he now declares, of a world which "has vanished in the greatest secular catastrophe which has tormented mankind since the fall of Rome." This book, very impartially written, contains much sound psychology; as, when it denies that "there would be any appreciable social discontent" with their mere chains of poverty which the masses bear, except for the profiteer "who is freely slopping the stuff about."

PSYCHOLOGY

Stumbling rather accidentally upon J. M. Williams' **Principles of Social Psychology** (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1922), I was astonished at what I found. This seemingly academic volume is an unworked mine of material for those who advocate democratising our industrial order. Dealing chiefly with the acquisitive, rivalrous, mastering, and cooperative tendencies of the human animal, he follows the effects and modifications of these through the thousand by-ways of modern "civilized" life. Whoever is weary of the hackneyed phrases of which agitators are too fond, will find fresh and powerful arguments in this book.

So important toward the modern effort to understand life is everything written by Dr. Sigmund Freud, that we feel bound to notice his two latest booklets, **Beyond the Pleasure Principle** and **Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego** (International Psychoanalytic Press, London, 1922).

In the former, the founder of psycho-analysis ventures farther than he has hitherto done into the field of pure

speculation, and suggests that human beings are motivated by a tendency stronger than that whereby they seek pleasure. This tendency, namely, drives them to re-experience whatever sensations they have undergone in previous circumstances. From this it would follow that the thing most inherent in us is conservatism. Outer environment is the sole originator of progress and of the new.

In the other, still later, and less metaphysical book, Freud directs his keen critical powers upon Trotter's Instinct of the Herd and similar conceptions by Le Bon and others. He goes far to show that this "instinct" is simply an effect of mutual identification of the members of a group with one another as all lovers of their leader, or of an abstract idea which may occupy the place of a leader.

Another psychological booklet which is equally unique, impartial and interesting, is the **Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life**, by Prof. Ephraim E. Erickson of the University of Utah (University of Chicago Press, 1922). The professor tells the history of the Mormons in terms of the origins of their institutions and especially of the mental effects on themselves of their tenets, of their contacts with "gentiles," of their struggle in conquering the wilderness, and—latest and deadliest foe—of the infiltration of modern ideas.

* * *

A pamphlet which goes direct to the point is James Oneal's **Labor and the Next War**. (Socialist Party of the U. S., Chicago.) It shows up some of the dirty deals which our government has, in the past, put across on weaker countries; and what dubs the workers are who are fooled by catch-words and newspaper lies into supporting the imperialistic schemes of those who control our press and government.

The old falacy of drawing up "an indictment against a whole nation" is the pitfall into which W. T. Colyer has fallen, in **Americanism, A World Menace**. (Preface by Tom Mann. Labour Pub. Co., London.) His book shows how a radical thinker may fail to shake himself free of patriotic and personal bias. But, lest we be accused of these same vices in attacking him, it is fair to add that this small book is packed close with evidence of arrogance, commercialism, hypocrisy, and violence as overwhelmingly more prevalent in America than say in England and Northwestern Europe.

CO-OPERATION tells you what the radicals of Europe are doing and what many of them are beginning to do here in laying the ground floor of the Co-operative Commonwealth. Published monthly by The Co-operative League of America, 167 West 12th St., New York City. Subscription price, \$1.00 a year.

WE ARE LOVED

Because of the Enemies We Have Made

L. B. R., writing from Grand Rapids, Michigan, says:

"I had almost overlooked sending in my renewal, until an article in the recent RAILWAY REVIEW put me in mind of it, at the same time impressing me with the work your publication is doing. Luck to you!"

The RAILWAY REVIEW, organ of the Railway Interests, cries "Bloody Murder" at LABOR AGE and all of Labor's fact-finding agencies—because they are supplying the Movement with FACTS for its fight. The Railway Interests are afraid of Facts. They want the workers to be fed Lies—so that the "Open Shop" may go on forever.

LABOR UNIONS WILL WANT THE FACTS
WHICH LABOR'S ENEMIES FEAR SO MUCH

Each local union should have at least five copies each month, for its officers and active members.

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